CHAPTER 3

From Junk to Galleon: Commercial Activity in Manila

In its depths the sea guards such mysteries
That have yet to be uncovered, so many fantasies
Stranded in the route between two ports,
Such that one has to finally reckon
That the color of the sea is not all innocent,
It has the muffled moss of history
The lost gazes of men
And the intact treasure of an immense
Blue inkwell that awaits
A paper sailboat, the seagull
Of the blank white page
That will convert the secret into an open book.

For merchant-owners and sailors the vessels used in sea trade were more than just means of transporting goods; they bore the weight of pride of the shipbuilders and the hopes and fears of the many seafaring professions. The poem quoted above, by the Spanish poet Fernando Beltrán (b. 1956), is included in a book titled *Retrato de un navio* ("Portrait of a Ship"), about a seventeenth-century Manila Galleon, *Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza* ("Our Lady of the Pillar of Zaragoza").[1] The poet deftly links the blue of the ocean and of ink and the blank white of paper and of a seagull to allude to the imaginative work of the historian. The poem can be read as exhorting the historian to plumb the depths of the sea, which is

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itself like the past that holds mysteries that await solution, or tales of vanished men and their visions that must be told anew. A great number of the galleons that traveled between Manila and Acapulco capsized and ended on the ocean floor, their treasures being hunted to this day. One such ship that went down was the *San Diego*, which was attacked by the Dutch and shipwrecked in 1600 (see Fig. 1.4).[2]

Although the goods on board the *San Diego* never reached their intended destination, by 1600 the colonial populace in Spanish America had already been receiving Asian commodities from Manila for more than two decades. For example, in 1592 a man by the name of Juan Bauptista Moroso carried 900 pieces of glazed ceramics (*loza)* from Manila to Acapulco aboard a galleon by the name of *San Philippe*.[3] The *libro de sobordo*, or book of freight, does not give us much more information about the kinds of ceramics Moroso carried, but we can surmise that such a large load might have included a wide variety, ranging from high-quality objects to ceramics meant for daily use. In the previous chapter we explored the history of Jingdezhen and saw how the world's first global brand was produced. Now we will investigate the history of Manila and the context in which these same objects were traded by Chinese merchants to their counterparts from Mexico. We will see that already by 1592 a system was set up for Chinese merchants to be able to bring their wares to Manila and sell them.

The transpacific trade system was built upon mercantile technologies and knowledge that existed in the region before the arrival of Europeans. Ceramics produced in Jingdezhen have been found in archaeological sites in the environs of Manila, proving that a longstanding trade network between the Chinese and the natives of the islands of Philippines existed before the inception of the transpacific trade. Trade in the South China Sea region had been vibrant, to the point where Chinese merchants were aware of the specific tastes of the different groups in the area and had the knowledge and ability to procure and provide the goods in demand. When the Spanish arrived in the mid-sixteenth century they saw that people on the island of Luzon, where Manila is located, had access to Chinese goods, and they chose it as the base for their activities in Asia:

> Upon capturing this island [Luzon] we found a quantity of porcelain, and some bells which are different from ours, and which they esteem highly in their festivities, besides perfumes of musk, amber, civet, officinal storax, and aromatic and resinous perfumes. With these they are well supplied, and are

> accustomed to their use; and they buy these perfumes from Chinese who come to Mindanao and the Philipinas [sic].[4]

One of the local impacts of the emergent global brand of Chinese ceramics on Manila and the Philippines of the global brand of Chinese ceramics was that it made the site attractive for Spanish colonization. The blue-and-white pieces of porcelain were a sign to the Spanish of potential lucrative opportunities.

Once Luzon and other islands of the Philippines were colonized and the transpacific trade had begun, Manila was transformed into an entrepôt of global proportions. For a few decades it was one of the busiest ports in the region, attracting merchants from around the world. An obviously admiring seventeenth-century description of Manila written by the Franciscan Friar Bartolomé Letona depicts Manila as the very center of the world:

> The variety of nations seen in Manila and its environs is the greatest in the world, for there can be found peoples from all the kingdoms and nations: Spain, France, England, Italy, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Moscow, from all the East Indies and West Indies, Turks, Greeks, Moors, Persians, Tartars, Chinese, Japanese, Africans, and Asians. And in the four corners of the world there is hardly a kingdom, province or nation from which people do not [come to Manila], as a result of the frequent voyages that are made here from East, West, North, and South.[5]

While the founding of Manila as a city happened under the aegis of the Spanish Empire, the building and development of the port were achieved by the cumulative work of several different groups of people, most notably Chinese merchants and migrants, for whom the building of Manila was particularly beneficial. In the late sixteenth century, the Longqing Emperor of the Ming Dynasty lifted bans on trade and the economy of the Chinese Empire was in need of silver, thus making Manila a rewarding destination. Every year between about ten and forty junks arrived from China to Manila carrying a great variety of commodities for the transpacific trade as well as supplies for the diverse population living in Manila. The more valuable commodities included silk in its various forms, porcelains, lacquered goods, and spices. But the sheer volume and variety of goods being traded in Manila were such as to leave one well-known commentator almost breathless in the listing of these goods; he exclaimed that were he to "refer to them all, [he] would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it."[6]

These junks also brought Chinese merchants, artisans, and laborers to Manila, some of whom stayed and contributed to the economic activity of the city, and also to its changing demographics as noted above by Bartolomé Letona. By the year 1603 it is estimated that there were around 20,000 Chinese residing in and around Manila, compared with a population of around 1000 Spaniards.[7]

A seventeenth-century wooden chest depicting a painting of colonial Manila symbolizes the meeting of the Spanish and the Chinese in the Philippines (Fig. 3.1). The wood used to make the chest was local to the Philippines, but the design was Spanish, and the craftsman who made it was probably Chinese.[8] The very physical construction of the chest serves as a representation of colonial Manila, where local resources were used by Spanish and Chinese merchants for a trade that created a new relationship between Chinese producers and colonial Mexican consumers. The

Fig. 3.1 Wooden chest with iron fittings, Manila, 1650–1660. Oil painting, 63.5 cm × 143 cm × 68 cm. Museo José Luis Bello y González, Government of the State of Puebla, Mexico. The painting inside the chest is one of the earliest of the port of Manila. Most of the surface is occupied by the walled city where the Spanish residents lived. In the background are several shipping vessels, some Chinese, some Spanish. Smaller boats, known as sampans, are shown coming into the city presumably laden with goods brought to the island on one of the Chinese junks shown in the background. In the bottom right corner we see a cordoned-off area, which is the Parián, the main market in Manila. Its importance to the city is made clear by the fact that a great many figures are depicted there and it is shown to be the most active area

artist who made the painting has made this connection clear by showing two different kinds of shipping vessels in the background. To the left we see Chinese junks characterized by their battened sails, and on the right a Spanish galleon, identifiable by its square rigs.

As a shipping container that would have been used to carry Asian objects to Mexico, the wooden chest can also be seen as a packaging of Asia, an object that held within it information and clues about Asia for colonial Latin American consumers. It is a miniature version of the larger cargo hold of a ship that traveled from Manila to Acapulco. The goods stowed on the Manila Galleons would make their way into various parts of colonial Latin America and offer consumers a glimpse of the people, places, and cultures across the Pacific. As it was the site where Asian goods were bought and where galleons were constructed and loaded, we can understand that Manila was a place where a certain idea of Asia was created and parceled for colonial Latin American society.

The preparation of the Manila Galleons was a process of incremental changes that included stages such as the construction of a marketplace and the emergence of specific practices for packing, marking, and recording the goods, and for the manufacture and loading of ships. In the previous chapter we saw the level of detail and the extensive production process that were required for making porcelain. In a similar manner, in this chapter we will see the various steps that were necessary to make goods from Asia available in the New World colonies. In Jingdezhen it was believed that a piece of clay passed through seventy-two hands in order to be transformed into a beautiful porcelain object. In Manila too the making and packing of the cargo hold of a ship required the work of many different groups of workers before it was ready and the ship could sail off.

To understand this process, we will first investigate the history of the trade between China and the Philippines before the arrival of the Spanish, and then move on to consider the transformation of Manila into a global trade hub in the early modern period. Having established the historical context for the development of the Manila Galleon Trade, we will then look more closely at the material aspects of the trade to underscore the fact that many different groups of people performing discrete tasks were involved in the building and functioning of a commercial network.

Nanyang Commerce Before the Arrival of the Spanish

A thirteenth-century Chinese source tells us that Chinese merchants had considerable knowledge of their various customers' demands in the South China Sea region, which they referred to as Nanyang (南洋). In *Zhu Fanzhi* ("Description of the Barbarian Peoples" 諸番志), the author Zhao Rugua, superintendent of maritime trade at the port of Quanzhou, provided detailed accounts of the kinds of ceramics that were preferred by the various communities in Southeast Asia. For example, *qing ciqi* (green porcelain 青瓷器) was preferred in Bo-ni, or Borneo, and *qingbai* ware (bluish-white porcelain 青白) was the choice of the people in Yapo, or Java.[9] In addition to listing preferences, Zhao also described how trade was carried out with the various peoples of the region. The following is from his description of what happened when a Chinese ship arrived at one of the islands that are today part of the Philippines:

> When trading ships enter the anchorage, they stop in front of the official's place, for that is the place for bartering of the country. After a ship has been boarded, the natives mix freely with the ship's folk. The chiefs are in the habit of using white umbrellas, for which reason the traders offer them as gifts. The custom of the trade is for the savage traders to assemble in crowds and carry the goods away with them in baskets; and, even if one cannot at first know them, and can but slowly distinguish the men who remove the goods, there will yet be no loss. The savage traders will after this carry these goods on to other islands for barter, and, as a rule, it takes them as much as eight or nine months till they return, when they repay the traders on shipboard with what they have obtained (for the goods). Some, however, do not return within the proper term, for which reason vessels trading with Ma-i are the latest in reaching home … The products of the country consist of yellow wax, cotton, pearls, tortoise-shell, medicinal betel nuts and yu ta cloth, and the (foreign) traders barter for these porcelain, trade-gold, iron censers, lead, coloured glass beads, and iron needles.[10]

Zhao's description can be corroborated with archaeological and anthropological research done in the region. We know that there was no centralized kingdom and that the various communities were connected by an intricate system of gift-exchange that existed before the establishment of trade relations with Chinese merchants.[11] Archaeologists have found Chinese porcelain in the coastal regions as well as in the hinterlands of the

islands, indicating that these goods were incorporated into an intra-regional system of trade between lowland peoples who had access to trade, the interior swidden-cultivating tribal groups, and the upland hunter–gatherer peoples, who were responsible for procuring the goods that were in demand in China.[12] The traders on these islands and the merchants from China connected different parts of southern China to the hinterlands of the Philippines.

For Chinese merchants Luzon and other islands of the Philippines were one of many destinations in the South China Sea region where they sold their goods. Given the geographical proximity it is easy to imagine how China might have had longstanding ties with the kingdoms and communities of Nanyang, but it was only during the Song Dynasty (960–1279) that these connections intensified through trade.[13] During this time maritime trade surpassed the overland Silk Road trade that had been going on for centuries. Chinese merchants defined two routes, the eastern and the western, along which to sell their wares.[14] The western route gave them access to Vietnam, Cambodia, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, and the Indonesian archipelago, while the eastern route led them to Luzon, Mindanao, and the Spice Islands in the eastern Indonesian archipelago.[15] In both cases the trade was conducted by merchants from the region known as Fujian, and the ports' levels of activity varied over time. Quanzhou was a major port for much of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), but later Xiamen gained importance, as did Guangzhou, or Canton.[16]

One of the reasons why the South China Sea region saw such tremendous commercial activity was because there was a demand within China for the goods from Nanyang and an extensive interior network, much of which relied on river transportation, that made these goods available inland. The products from Nanyang that were most in demand in China included frankincense, sandalwood, aromatics, drugs, spices, tortoise shell, rhinoceros horn, beeswax, and pearls.[17] Great river junks, sometimes manned by up to fifty or sixty men, would transport local foods, such as rice and salt, as well as foreign goods that were popular.[18]

Chinese goods that were sent overseas were transported in even larger vessels. The sea-going ships had more masts and sails than the river junks. Arab traveler Ibn Battuta, who was in China in the fourteenth century, commented on the design of these vessels:

> People sail on the China seas only in Chinese ships, so let us mention the order observed upon them … A single one of the greater ships carries

> 12 sails, and the smaller ones only three. The sails of these vessels are made of strips of bamboo, woven into the form of matting. The sailors never lower them (while sailing, but simply) change the direction of them according to whether the wind is blowing from one side or the other.[19]

Battuta's reference to sails is pertinent because this was a significant difference between European and Asian ships, since the two types of vessels had to deal with different kinds of winds. However, Battuta's insistence on "Chinese ships" is misleading because as early as the eighth century Chinese shipbuilding was being influenced by Javanese ships. This collaboration only increased in later periods, when contacts intensified and Chinese merchants had their ships built in parts of Southeast Asia. Today we call these ships "junks" because that is how the Portuguese identified them when they first arrived in the region, but the word is probably of Malay or Javanese origin.[20]

When Europeans arrived in the South China Sea region to join the trade in the sixteenth century much of the shipping technology required to transport goods already existed, as did merchants' knowledge about where to procure those goods. The Europeans did not demand anything of the Chinese merchants that they were not already accustomed to providing or that they did not have the resources to provide. If we think of the early modern period as a time of increased connectivity, we have to remember that the South China Sea region had already been a vibrant, intercultural space for several centuries.[21] The merchants operating in the area had created a web of commerce that linked the Chinese interior with various Southeast Asian polities and the Indian Ocean world.[22] When the Europeans arrived they joined this preexisting web, and initially some groups, like the Chinese merchants, did not object to their arrival because they brought silver with them.

However, what was a fortuitous meeting for Chinese and Spanish merchants and the beginning of the transpacific trade was also a moment that saw the end of an era of trade for many groups of islanders of the Philippines. Those living in places where the Spanish presence was notable were forced to work in shipyards or do other menial labor, and many even succumbed to the diseases brought by the Europeans.[23] This rupture in the lives of the natives is also significant to our understanding of the early modern world, since for these groups of people, the new period brought with it the experience of being disconnected from previous networks, and thus a loss in their ability to participate in the commerce of the region in a meaningful and profitable way.

Maynilad Becomes Manila: The Making of a Global Trade Hub

We saw earlier in the quote from Franciscan Bartolemé Letona that after the transpacific trade began, Manila was one of the most vibrant port cities in the world. However, the arrival of the Spanish did not bring the city global fame overnight. Before Spanish colonization, the particular site had already been a hub, a fact that the Spanish capitalized on. We already know from Chinese sources about the trade between China and the island of Luzon as far back as the Song Dynasty. A few hundred years later, when the Spanish arrived at the site that is today Manila, they noted that there were four Chinese vessels in the harbor and forty "married Chinese" and twenty Japanese living there.[24] At the time the place was known as Maynilad, a name that refers to a type of water lily that thrived in the river, today referred to as the River Pasig. The population of some 2000 was ruled by Rajah Sulayman, who was related to the King of Brunei; this made him and his family bilingual in Malay and Tagalog and made Maynilad a multicultural and multilingual place even before the Spanish invasion.

Despite the small population and territory, we must realize that the people living in Maynilad and other such places had a much larger sense of the world they knew themselves to be a part of because of their relationship with the ocean.[25] People lived in settlements known as *barangays*, a term which comes from the Tagalog for "boat" and signified a "political community defined by personal attachment, not territorial location."[26] Such settlements were usually along rivers so that those situated at a river's mouth faced the sea. Maynilad had a palisade made of palm tree logs built on a mound facing the sea. As discussed earlier, the king and his followers would have been connected to upriver settlements through a system of exchange while at the same time being tied politically to neighboring polities; and finally, because of their location by the sea, they were also situated at the crossroads of the trade networks that connected India, China, and Japan.[27] This site, like many others in Southeast Asia, was not brought into global trade by the Spanish; rather it would be more useful to think of the Spanish conquest as changing the relationship of these people to the ocean and their involvement in its currents.

The first encounter between the Spanish and the King of Maynilad took place in 1570, at which point the Spanish were based in the Visayas, south of the island of Luzon. They found it an unsatisfactory location from which to conduct business, and relations with the rulers there were tenuous.

While they were in the Visayas, junks from Luzon arrived carrying Chinese commodities, which encouraged Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the leader of the mission, to send a group to explore Luzon.[28] That group met the Rajah, but according to Spanish records, despite a show of friendship the Rajah was actually hostile, instigating a violent confrontation. A year later in 1571 Legazpi himself returned and conquered the area, naming it Manila as a city that from thenceforth was meant to be a part of the dominion of the King of Spain, Philip II, after whom the Philippines are named.

Manila was a unique port city at the time owing to the fact that it was founded and operated under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, today's Mexico. Legazpi's mission had been planned and funded in the viceroyalty and not in Spain. Manila, then, in some respects was a colony under the control of another colonial state. Unlike later European commercial enterprises, such as those of the Dutch and the British that came in the form of trading companies, the Manila Galleon Trade operated as an enterprise of the viceroyalty in Mexico. The ties between Manila and Mexico were stronger than those between Manila and the Spanish Crown by sheer virtue of the fact that information between the Asian colony and Spain had to go via Mexico.

The close ties between the two colonies were unwelcome for the Spanish Crown because industries in Spain suffered from the competition with Asian commodities, while at the same time the Crown also lost silver to Asia. One of the most important factors for the survival of the transpacific trade was silver. It was stated earlier that silver was important for attracting Chinese and other merchants to Manila, but at the other end of the Pacific it was also important to the merchants in Mexico City who had direct access to the silver mines in the New World. They wanted to, and often did, decide for themselves how to use it. The mines in New Spain and Peru are said to have produced 80 percent of the world's silver in the early modern era, possibly around 150,000 tons.[29] While much of it went to Europe, a significant amount was also sent to Asia: 50 tons annually, according to some estimates. In the seventeenth century this amount equaled the combined shipments of silver from Portugal and the English and Dutch East India Companies.[30] It is not surprising that such large amounts were sent because on the other side of the ocean, Mexican merchants had the potential to see profits as high as 200 percent on goods that they bought in Manila.[31]

Earlier scholarship on the transpacific connection between the Americas and Asia often referred to the Pacific Ocean as the "Spanish Lake," but

recently this term has been challenged and the term *Lago indiano*, or "Lake of the Indies," is proposed since the impetus to continue the trade came from consumer and merchant interests in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru.[32] The conflicts between the interests of the Spanish Empire and those of the merchants from the Americas were evident in the animosity harbored towards the merchants by Spanish colonists in Manila. The colonists complained to the Crown that Mexican merchants drove up the price of Chinese goods, thus effectively preventing the colonists from participating in the trade. They tried to control the Mexican merchants by instating the *pancada* law, which stipulated that the Spanish officials in Manila would purchase Chinese goods wholesale on the boats of the Chinese rather than in the fairs and the market, where they would have to compete with the Mexican merchants. Both the Chinese and the Mexican merchants complained against this, and ultimately the colonists were unable to enforce the new scheme.[33]

The colonists and the Crown found that the Mexican and Chinese merchants had the help of another important ally, the Church. Commercial activities were allowed to continue because they were often portrayed as being secondary to the larger and supposedly more important mission of evangelizing. In a memorandum addressed to the king in 1635, the procurator-general of the city of Manila argued that the "principal consideration" of preserving the colony in the Philippine islands was "the service of God, and the propagation of religion and the Catholic faith."[34] The Catholic orders, and especially the Dominicans in the early years of the trade, were interested in bringing as many Chinese into the fold of Christianity as possible, and in order to attract them to Manila they had to support their commercial activities. Thus, trade and religion not only coexisted in Manila, but also mutually reinforced each other.[35]

Like the merchants from Mexico, the Chinese traders too looked out for the growth of their private wealth rather than that of the Chinese Empire.[36] The region of southern China where most of the Chinese merchants and laborers came from did not necessarily flourish as a whole through Chinese involvement in the Manila Galleon Trade, though individual families and lineages did.[37] The merchants who participated in the trade did not invest their profits into the infrastructure of the ports where they traded from, but preferred to give back to their homelands, reflecting the emotional attachment that traders and sojourners felt for their native places and lineages. These people chose to either support their relatives or invest in shipbuilding and sustaining their own business networks, rather than contributing to

the general economic development of the area. Their networks connected different locales in the region, and allowed them to survive and to compete with other Asian and European merchants.

This was the sociopolitical context in which the Manila Galleon Trade was established and functioned over the years. There were various interests, which at times competed with each other, making Manila less stable in some ways than other comparable cities. In the first few decades after the trade began and into the early seventeenth century, the galleon trade experienced great prosperity. However, Manila could not maintain its status as the major port in the South China Sea region for long, owing to several factors, including strained relations with the Portuguese and the Japanese, Dutch incursions, fear of Chinese uprisings, and internal weaknesses such as lack of proper administration and development of the colony. However, in the second half of the eighteenth century we begin to see a turning point in the fortunes of the Manila Galleon Trade and perhaps a shift in power.[38]

The city did experience a decline in fortune, but it did not cease to be a hub for trade between the Spanish Americas and the Chinese. We know that the trade continued and that silver from the New World mines continued to find its way to China.[39] We also know that the demand from the Spanish American colonies for Asian goods did not abate. Even after the Crown banned trade between the Viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru, fearing the loss of Peruvian silver to Asia, repeated edicts throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are proof that the bans were ineffectual. By the late sixteenth century a system of exchange had been established that continued to be developed and improved upon as time went on. In the following pages we will focus specifically on this system, paying particular attention to three aspects of the trade process: the marketplace, packing and recording techniques, and shipbuilding and loading. These aspects allow us to see how the trade functioned but also, more importantly, they highlight the particularities of the Manila Galleon Trade.

Commercial Activity in Manila: Marketing, Packaging, and Shipping Asia

Marketing Asia: The Parián, the Adornment of Manila

Thirteenth-century Chinese chronicler Zhao Rugua, cited above, stated that when Chinese merchants went to the islands to conduct trade there

was no marketplace where they could sell their wares and that they did not even disembark from their ships; instead the natives of the islands came aboard and carried away the goods themselves. Eventually, when trade with the Spanish commenced, the Chinese played a more active role in selling and distributing their goods since they worked and operated in Manila in much larger numbers than before. The process was described by Antonio de Morga, a lawyer by training who became a high-ranking colonial official in Manila. He wrote the famous *Sucesos de las Filipinas* ("Events of the Philippines"), which was the first lay history of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines[40]:

> When the [Chinese] vessel has arrived and anchored, the royal officials go to inspect it and the register of the merchandise aboard it. At the same time the valuation of the cargo is made according to law, of what it is worth in Manila; for the vessel immediately pays three per cent on everything to his Majesty. After the register has been inspected and the valuation made, then the merchandise is immediately unloaded by another official into *champans*, and taken to the Parián, or to other houses outside of the city. There the goods are freely sold.[41]

The painting in the wooden chest shown above portrayed this very scene described by Morga (Fig. 3.1). We see the larger ships in the background and the smaller boats in the river coming into the city, approaching a cordoned-off area shown at bottom right. To judge from the painting, this is the most active space in the city, where we see many different people congregated. Some are shown on horses with attendants holding parasols for them, while other figures are vendors peddling their wares. This area was the Parián, the famed marketplace where much of the commerce conducted in the city took place.

The Parián went through several iterations during the time when the Manila Galleon Trade was active. It was first built in 1581 by Gonzalo Ronquillo. According to the first bishop of Manila, Domingo de Salazar, initially the Chinese did not have a specific place in the city where they lived and worked. In a letter to the king in 1590 he wrote that they were "scattered" and that when they were given a place to be "used as a silk-market (which is called here Parián), of four large buildings … many shops were opened, commerce increased, and more Sangleys came to this city."[42] According to Salazar, trade was improved by the creation of a dedicated space where the Chinese merchants could operate. It was not enough to merely have a port where the merchants could meet; more organization,

as seen in the creation of a marketplace, was necessary for the trade to develop.

The buildings described by Salazar could very well have been the kinds of wooden shops with thatched roofs that we see in the painting of the Parián in the chest. Such shops were susceptible to fires, and the market was damaged several times.[43] After one of the reconstructions Salazar described the Parián as a site worth seeing:

> This Parian has so adorned the city that I do not hesitate to affirm to your Majesty that no other known city in España or in these regions possesses anything so well worth seeing as this; for in it can be found the whole trade of China, with all kinds of goods and curious things which come from that country. These articles have already begun to be manufactured here, as quickly and with better finish than in China; and this is due to the intercourse between Chinese and Spaniards, which has enabled the former to perfect themselves in things which they were wont to produce in China. In this Parián are to be found workmen of all trades and handicrafts of a nation, and many of them in each occupation. They make much prettier articles than are made in España, and sometimes so cheap that I am ashamed to mention it.[44]

Salazar was clearly in favor of the Chinese and was impressed with their ingenuity.[45] The wooden chest was the kind of object that Chinese craftsmen could expertly reproduce in the Parián even though it was of a Spanish design. We can surmise that accounts like Salazar's may have begun to sound alarm bells for merchants and imperial administrators in Spain, who could see the threat posed by Asian goods bought in Manila to their own manufactured goods intended for sale in the colonies.

By the early seventeenth century the Parián was a "large enclosed *alcaicería* of many streets, at some distance from the city walls."[46] An *alcaicería* was a silk market in southern Spain and was a remnant from the Moorish past that remained in use even after the Muslim rulers were defeated.[47] The association with silk, also seen in Salazar's comment, is relevant because in Manila too silk was the Chinese commodity most in demand and of most value. However, the Parián in Manila was not only a marketplace for fine luxuries; it was also where one went to have one's shoes mended or to have a table built. It was a place where barbers set up their shops and where people could buy food supplies as well.[48] From early on the Parián had been assigned its own *alcalde,* or mayor, who was supposed to be in charge, another aspect borrowed from the *alcaicerias* of

southern Spain. In Manila, this mayor, rather than ensuring the safety of the Chinese, was meant to keeping an eye on them.

Relations between the Chinese residing in Manila and the Spanish colonists were uneasy. Over the years there were several incidences of violent confrontations between the two groups where the Chinese population in particular suffered great losses, and the Parián was often destroyed.[49] Foreigners visiting Manila noticed the hostility between the two groups, as can be seen in Italian traveler Gemelli Careri's description of the Parián. It seems that wherever the Chinese were they were under constant surveillance and within range of cannons:

> Tho' Manila be small, if we look upon the circumference of its walls, and the number of inhabitants, yet it will appear large if we include suburbs, for within musket shot of the gate of Parián, is the habitation of the Chinese merchants call'd *Sangley*, who in several streets have rich shops of silk, purcellane, and other commodities. Here are found all arts and trades, so that all the citizens are worth, runs through their hands, through the fault of the Spaniards and Indians, who apply themselves to nothing.[50]

Careri also confirms what we learn from other accounts about the importance of this marketplace to the city, saying that all citizens had to depend on the trades of the Parián and the Chinese who ran it.

Despite the tensions between the Spanish and the Chinese, by the eighteenth century the Parián could be seen as a symbol of cooperation between the two groups. In 1756 the government in Manila decided to construct a new, more permanent market where the offices for accounting would be housed together with the shops, along with residences for merchants (Fig. 3.2). It was known as the *Alcaicería de San Fernando* and was a unique double-storied structure in the shape of an octagon, with a central courtyard surrounded by shop fronts. It was designed to make the movement of goods from boat to market easier. In this way several of the procedures of the trade, from unloading to selling and accounting, could be carried out in one place, and in this way they were also easier to surveil. This structure was designed by a Spanish architect, Lucas de Jesús María, and built by a Chinese Christian by the name of Antonio Mazo.[51]

In the *Alcaicería de San Fernando,* and in the previous iterations of the Parián, the porcelain objects brought from China could have been sold individually or in bundles. Objects that were specifically custom-ordered would not necessarily have been sold in the Parián or even displayed in the shops there. It has been suggested that among the Chinese, different

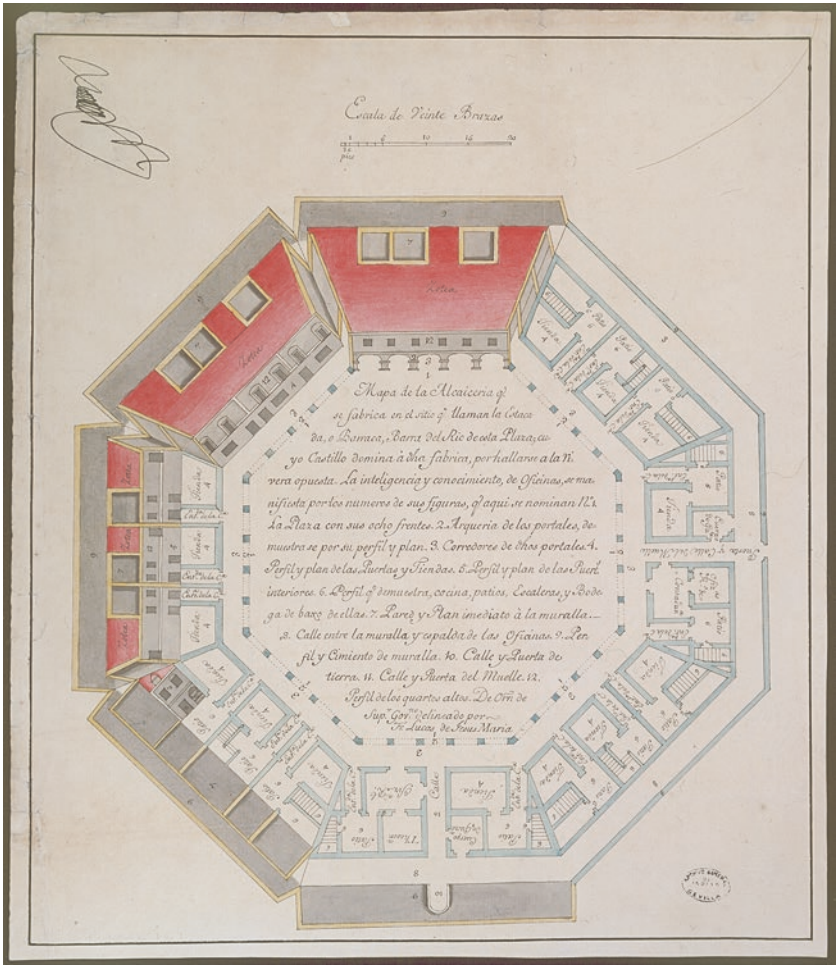

Fig. 3.2 Plan of the *Alcaicería de San Fernando*. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, MP-FILIPINAS, 38BIS. The caption in the center points out some features of the market, which included shops and staircases leading up to storage spaces. One of these spaces was delineated as an accounting office. The structures with roofs are the officials' quarters

merchants specialized in different goods, and so it is quite possible that the porcelain from Jingdezhen was under the purview of a particular set of merchants, while other goods were under other merchants, and so on.[52] Over time the shops in the Parián also came to be specialized, and according to one source, in 1755 the Parián had fifteen stalls that sold porcelain out of a total of 627.[53]

By the time the *Alcaicería de San Fernando* was built, Manila was past its heyday, as other European powers operating in the region were growing more powerful. But even if the city had lost its global importance, the building of this structure suggests that the trade was still very important to the Spanish and Chinese merchants, who had a great deal to gain from it. What is more, the fame of the Parián extended beyond Manila. In the seventeenth century the central marketplace in the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Mexico City, also began to be popularly called the Parián. Clearly the marketing of Asian goods in Manila itself had worked so well that the space where they were traded also captured the imaginations of distant consumers.

Packaging Asia: Bales and Books of Freight

Once merchants had bought the goods they wanted, they had to arrange for them to be packed and loaded onto the next galleon heading across the Pacific to the Americas. This would involve repackaging the goods and marking the parcels in such a way that they could be identified as belonging to a particular individual. Because of the restrictions on the trade, a notary would be required to create a book of freight, which would list all the merchandise being shipped from Manila and its value. This book would be inspected in Acapulco to ensure that the galleon was not bringing goods of more value than was allowed. In the case of Juan Bauptista Moroso, cited above, the record lists the number of pieces of ceramics he was carrying on board as 900. However, generally the records are not so specific when it comes to ceramics: usually it is the different types of containers that the ceramics were packed in that are listed. These containers came in various shapes and formats, such as boxes (*caxones*), bales (*fardos*), and sacks (*bolsas*). When packed in these containers, the ceramics, especially the high-quality porcelains, would be surrounded by straw, aromatic herbs, or other fibrous materials to protect them during the long journey ahead.[54]

An interesting point to note in terms of packing techniques is that the more valuable pieces would be packed on the very inside of the crate and the inferior pieces would make up the outer layers so that the value of the entire crate would be based on the more readily visible and accessible pieces, thus enabling merchants to cheat when their goods were being inspected. Such techniques were also used when packing silk textiles, which were of even greater value than Chinese porcelain. Packers in Manila employed a "pressing" technique to pack in more pieces than were officially sanctioned by the quotas allotted. These methods of evading official rules developed in Manila as a necessity since the Crown repeatedly tried to restrict the values and amounts of goods that could be shipped across the Pacific.[55]

We know that imperial officials were aware that such techniques were being employed because edicts were issued about how particular goods were to be packed and shipped. An early eighteenth-century memorandum demonstrates the Crown's concerns:

> The annual galleon shall carry no more than 4,000 piezas [pieces], 500 of these being half-chests containing the silken fabrics and the finer ones of cotton; the rest shall be half-bales, bags of cinnamon, cases of porcelain, and cakes of wax.[56]

The memorandum states exactly how many pieces the galleon could carry, allowing only an eighth of the total amount to be textiles, and those too had to be "half-chests". It continues:

> The size or weight respectively of these packages is prescribed: the half-chests and half-bales shall be each 1 ¼ vara long, 2/3 vara wide, and 1/3 vara deep, an allowance of two dedos [fingers] on each measure being made for the outside cover or packing of the half-chest and for the compression used on the half-bale. The bag of cinnamon shall weigh 150 libras [pounds] gross (that is including all packing and covers), but at Acapulco it may be allowed four or five libras more of weight, the difference between the weight of Manila and that of Nueva España [New Spain]. The case of porcelain must be one vara high and 2 ¼ varas in circumference at the mouth, no allowance being made. The cakes of wax must weigh twelve arrobas at Manila, four or five libras being allowed at Acapulco for the difference in standards of weight. Besides the 4,000 piezas, unlimited pepper and storax may be shipped; and Chinese cabinets and screens may go in larger boxes than the regulation size, provided that the capacity of these be figured in terms of piezas.

These instructions are very specific, but it is not clear that they were followed. The fact that such a memorandum had to be issued in itself suggests that the rules were being broken. Furthermore, there are allowances for different systems of measurements used at the two ends of the trade, thus creating room for discrepancies that could be manipulated by merchants.

Although the memorandum lists specific weights and measurements, the ships' records do not reveal whether the packages complied with official regulations. In fact, the manner in which notaries kept records of the ships' cargoes may also have allowed the illegal shipment of goods. The ship manifests of the transpacific trade very rarely specify individual objects, especially for the early period, so it is not easy to trace particular porcelain objects through the archives from a merchant in Manila to a consumer in Mexico.[57] Ship manifests listed the goods in categories according to how they were packaged, generally recording how many of these larger packages belonged to a particular individual and to whom they were consigned on the ship. The contents of the packages were not usually specified. This list of goods would be part of the larger book of freight, which also included lists of the officials, crew, passengers, and soldiers aboard, the rations, the artillery, and at times even an index of the official correspondence that was being sent to Mexico and then perhaps on to Spain.[58]

As with the improvement of the Parián, we see a process of development in the methods of noting the contents and values of the ships' cargoes. In some instances, the manifests become better organized, but they are not necessarily more revealing about the specific goods being shipped as compared with records from the early years of the trade. To judge from the documents that have survived, there are more complete records for the later period, from the 1730s onwards. As the trade came under increased scrutiny, especially under the rule of the Bourbons, stricter regulations came into use, and officials became more judicious about creating and preserving these records, even if they were not entirely truthful about the exact contents of the cargoes.

The document that records that Juan Bauptista Moroso was carrying 900 pieces of ceramics also states that other passengers were carrying various numbers of boxes or bales. In a slightly later document, from 1602, we find that the notary has recorded the information in a slightly different format, using a system of symbols in the margin to indicate the contents of the various boxes, which were similarly marked. The boxes are numbered, and in this particular document the contents are specified in greater

detail than even in later documents. For the most part the boxes contained various kinds of textiles such as *tafetas* (taffeta), *seda cruda* (raw silk), and *damascos* (damasks), among others.[59]

A 1731 document, similar to the 1602 one, has more a description of the packages, without much information about the contents of the packages or their value. The first entry reads as follows: "Captain Don Joseph loaded 12 sacks [*bolsas*] of the following numbers: 2, 3, 4, 8 … until 16. 10 blocks of wax of ordinary weight, two medium bundles numbered 1, 2, [all] marked with the symbol in the margin …"[60] The document is forty-five pages long. One entry on the fourth page mentions porcelain. It reads: "Captain Don Antonio Levino [?] stowed ten sacks of ceramics numbered 1 to 10 marked with the impression seen in the margin."[61]

The diversity of ways in which the ships' cargoes were documented shows that the notaries experimented to find the best way to record and communicate what a ship was carrying. Although at times the documents are disappointing for historians today owing to the lack of detail, they did at the time accomplish the goals of satisfying officials and ensuring that the goods bought in Manila and loaded onto the galleons reached the right people in Mexico, while at the same time being ambiguous enough to allow people to carry more than the official allowances.

In comparison to the records of other European trading companies, the ship records of the Manila Galleon Trade, when studied, give the impression that people involved in this trade were not concerned with its proper functioning. The lack of a textual record is peculiar to the situation where much of the exchange and transfer of goods was unofficial, for both Chinese and Spanish merchants. The transpacific trade was under the jurisdiction of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and primarily benefitted consumers in the Americas, so the records were intentionally sparse in order to keep imperial officials from knowing how much silver was actually being sent to Asia.

As seen earlier in the development of the Parián, the merchants—both Chinese and Spanish—were interested in ensuring that they could provide and procure goods that could be sold in the colonies in the Americas. Material evidence suggests that consumers in colonial Latin America had access to a wide variety of porcelain objects, including blue-and-white objects from the Transitional Period (1620–1683) and colored enameled porcelain from the Kangxi Period (1654–1722). The most popular export items were *kraak* ware, distinguishable by a paneled design on borders and central motifs showing either symbols of good omens or scenes of flora

and fauna, which were often imitated by potters in Puebla for their own creations. In addition to these various types of porcelains, consumers in colonial Latin America could also custom-order objects as their European counterparts did. We have surviving examples of porcelains ordered by the Catholic orders depicting their insignia as well as armorial porcelain belonging to wealthy families in Mexico. Specialty items, such as the *mancerina*, a vessel used to drink chocolate, were also custom-ordered from artisans in Jingdezhen.[62]

The existence of these various objects proves that even if the ship manifests were scant or vague, those involved in the commerce took care to ensure that the goods shipped reached the right owners once the galleons arrived in Acapulco. This was done through a multilingual system of marking the various bundles and boxes (Fig. 3.3). Some goods, such as spices, would have been transported in large jars, which were marked so that whoever had to move them would know where they were going, who they belonged to, and what they contained. Archaeologists have found marks in Spanish, Tagalog, and Chinese indicating that members of all three groups were involved in the process and had developed systems of markings to facilitate the trade.[63] Sometimes the marks are legible letters, like monograms that could have been matched with the ships' manifests.[64] This technique was evidently developed on the transatlantic voyages, since shippers' marks are found from shipwrecks in the Atlantic as well.[65]

We see a trend then in the packaging of Asian goods for trade to the Spanish colonies, which was towards finding ways to be able to send more than was allowed by the Crown. Such practices were common in transatlantic shipping between Spain and the American colonies, but in the case of the Manila Galleon Trade the malfeasance was the most extreme, perhaps because of the stricter limits put on the trade.[66] That these packing techniques were institutionalized into the system of trade implies that the corruption ran deep and required the coordination of many different groups of people, including the people working in Manila on behalf of the Crown.[67] The profits to be made on the transpacific trade were too great to forgo, even for those who were supposed to be regulating it.

Shipping Asia

Once the goods had been packed for shipment and recorded in the books of freight, they had to be loaded onto the galleons, which were often constructed locally. The shipbuilding industry in Spain had not been

Fig. 3.3 Archaeological drawings of shippers' marks recovered from the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, which was shipwrecked in 1638. Those at the bottom towards the right are Chinese symbols. Some of the other marks resemble the monograms that were used in ship manifests to identify the owners of the various packages and even cakes of wax. Other marks are not alphabetical symbols. Image credit: Pacific Sea Resources

competitive or productive for most of the sixteenth century, and so the colonies had taken it upon themselves to build and supply ships as they needed them.[68] Shipbuilding techniques developed in Europe and the New World were used to build galleons in the Philippines, where owing to the availability of labor and materials shipbuilding was relatively inexpensive.[69] In the 1620s and 1630s the rate of construction of galleons in the region was roughly one per year. The ships that traversed the Pacific were known to be some of the largest seafaring vessels. Even in the building of

these galleons it seems that rules were broken as they were made bigger than the size that was officially sanctioned so that they could carry more goods.[70]

The cargo of a ship included not just the goods that merchants bought to sell in Mexico but also the various provisions needed for the journey, which included food, drink, weaponry in case of conflict, and materials to repair the ship along the way. In addition, the passengers and crewmen had their belongings, which were stowed in private cabins or wherever one could find space. The process of loading the ship was labor-intensive, and as in the process of the loading of the kiln seen in Jingdezhen there was particular manner in which the goods were packed into the vessel. The weight, value, and form of packaging determined where a particular box or bale might be placed in the cargo hold (Fig. 3.4). Another determining factor was whether the package could be damaged by coming into contact with water, in which case it would be placed higher in the hold. The heaviest and least valuable items were placed low and in the middle of the hold, while the more valuable and delicate objects were below the decks. Gaps between the various packages would be filled with cloth or smaller bundles.[71]

Chinese porcelain objects could be stowed in several different places on the ship. Poor-quality ceramics might be stored low and in the middle, serving to balance the ship. And since ceramics are not damaged by water, most bales and boxes that were shipments of porcelain would not have needed to be stored below decks, which was where the textiles would be kept. Passengers or crewmen may have bought individual pieces of porcelain, which could have been stored along with their private belongings in chests. These chests could be stored in various places on the ship, and groups of crewmen might store their chests together to create small, communal, private spaces where they could eat together and enjoy a game of cards.[72]

We saw that the manner of packaging goods allowed for the transport of more goods than what was officially allowed. Contraband could also be loaded onto the ship during the lading process described above. Jars meant to hold provisions for the journey could instead be used carry other goods, and the shippers' marks discussed above could have served as code to indicate which jars contained what.[73] Although the deck space was intended for cannons, captains often allowed it to be used as storage for provisions or commodities. Despite the fact that there were threats from

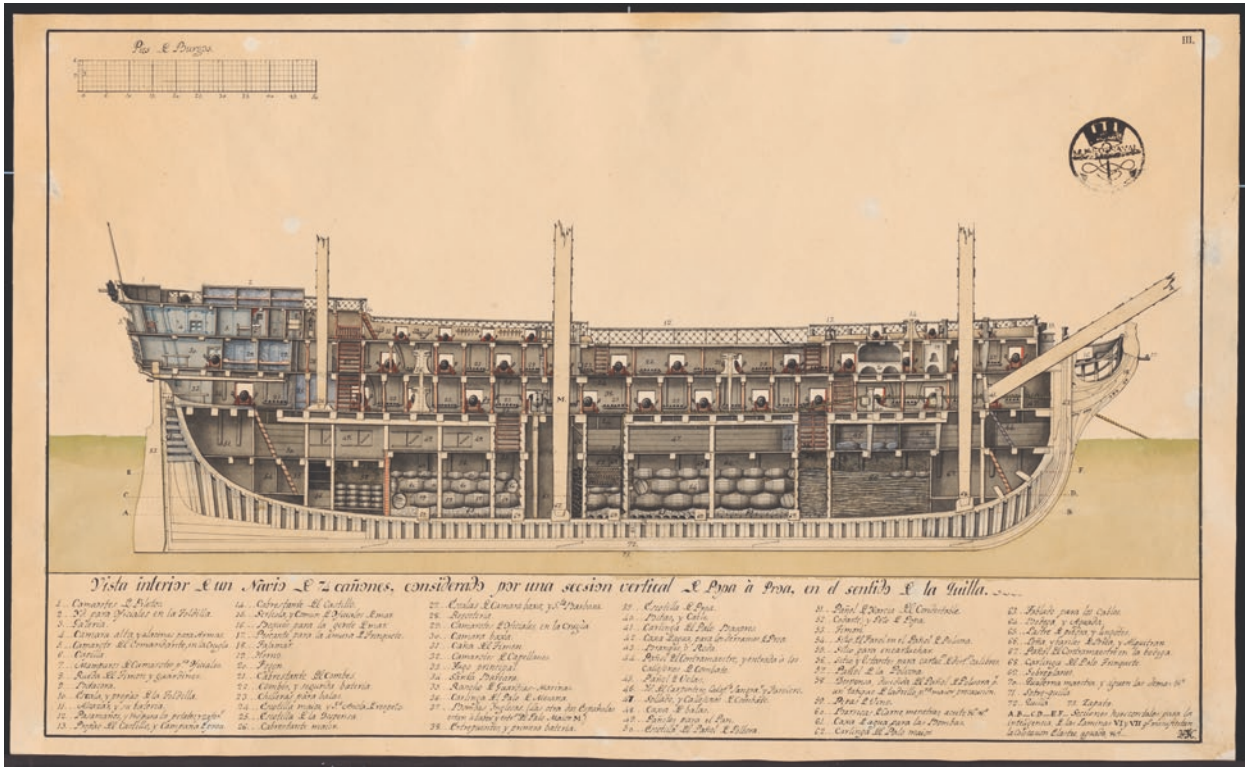

Fig. 3.4 Eighteenth-century drawing showing the cross-section of a ship. Museo Naval, Madrid. In this particular model there are seventy-four cannons on two different levels below the deck. The cabins for the passengers and crew members are located on both sides of the ship, and the merchandise is stored at the bottom

several different groups, the cannons would be carried in the ballast hold, which rendered them useless in case of conflict.

The lading space on the ships was supposedly allotted according to regulations issued by the Crown. The crew members were each given a certain amount of space according to their rank. Besides these people, officially only citizens of the Philippines were allowed to have *boletas*, or permissions for lading space, on the ships. However, these could be bought, and merchants from Mexico or their agents in Manila would often use their purchasing power to get as much space as possible on the ships and transport more goods than they or the entire ship were allowed to transport.[74] Crew members and other passengers also brought trunks that they claimed held clothes and other items necessary for the voyage when in fact they contained goods that they hoped to sell in Mexico.

Gemelli Careri saw much of this malfeasance first-hand as he was waiting for his ship to sail to Mexico. The following are observations that he recorded in his journal:

> Saturday 23rd, there were prayers for our good voyage. When we were ready to sail, the Commander called the pilots, and all other officers to give their opinions whether the vessel was fit for the voyage of New Spain, and in a good sailing posture. Most of them were of the opinion it was overloaded, and therefore could make little way. He therefore ordered all the seamen's chests to be put ashore, that all those who had two might have one left behind.[75]

Here Careri confirms that often ships were overloaded. The crew members lowest in the hierarchy governing the ship were the first to be expected to leave things behind in order to lighten the load.[76]

However, in Careri's experience, removing crew members' luggage did not unburden the ship enough to allow it to sail: casks of water also had to be taken off because the ship had been loaded with 2200 bales when it was allowed only 1500.[77] After that yet more contraband was discovered aboard the galleon:

> It is the practice in this voyage to carry the water in earthen jars, to the number of 2, 3 or 4000, proportionally to the number of people, and bigness of the galeon [sic]; and these falling short for a voyage of 7 or 8 months, the continual rains supply the defect. This time they had made two cisterns, on the sides of the ship, reaching from the deck to the bottom of the hole … and these had proved very good; yet they were broken to stow more bales

> in their place … This was done because the officers put in bales of their own in those places, notwithstanding the King's prohibition, they not minding they sent so many men to perish with thirst in such a spacious sea.[78]

After the crew members had been asked to leave their belongings behind to lighten the load of the ship, it was discovered that the ship's officers, men of higher rank and supposedly working for the king, had also stowed away boxes illegally in the space that was meant to store water, which risked jeopardizing all the lives aboard the ship. Such egregious attempts to carry contraband give a sense of how valuable the trade in Asian goods must have been.

The ship, once loaded and stocked, had a long and perilous journey ahead. Careri called the voyage from the Philippines to Mexico "the longest and most dreadful of any in the world."[79] The weather and the waters were a natural threat, and in later years enemy ships were also a big concern. The journey from Manila to Acapulco took roughly six months, in contrast to the three months of the reverse journey. Life on board the ship was difficult, to say the least. Although the Manila Galleons were some of the largest ships to traverse the seas at that time, they were still overcrowded. Humans had to share the space not only with each other and all the cargo, but also with livestock and pests such as rats and insects. The livestock were meant for food, but the supplies did not last the entire journey. Passengers and crewmen would scrounge for food during the trip, either by hunting at the various stops along the route or by trying to fish. Lack of proper nourishment and unhealthy living conditions meant that occurrences of disease and infection were high, and many would not survive the trip.

Besides the daily inconveniences of living on a ship, the journey was made all the more difficult and tense by dangers posed by the weather and the sea. Among the crew members would be carpenters, caulkers, and divers, who were responsible for repairing the ships when they suffered damage due to storms or rough waters.[80] The ships were often named for religious figures, such as *San Diego* ("Saint Diego"), *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* ("Our Lady of the Conception"), and *Espíritu Santo* ("Holy Spirit"), an indication of the trust put into divine hands for the voyage across the ocean. Often an image of the Virgin or Christ would also be placed on the ship. In Jingdezhen the potters prayed to the gods before lighting the kilns because despite careful preparation, kiln loads could be ruined. Similarly, in Manila, the image of the Virgin seen on the back of a

ship as it sailed off was a sign of the fragility of the trade. All the hands of the various groups of people who worked to prepare the hold of the ship could not protect its valuable contents from the dangers of the sea once it had sailed.

Notes

1. Fernando Beltrán, "A Esta Historia del navio Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza," in Jesús García de Valle y Gómez, *Retrato de Un Navio* (Madrid: Bubok, 2012). Translation mine. Spanish original: "Guarda en el fondo el mar tantos misterios/sin desvelar aún, tanta quimera/encallada en el rumbo entre dos puertos,/que uno piensa al final que su color/no es del todo inocente,/tiene el musgo apagado de la historia/la mirada perdida de los hombres/ y el intacto tesoro de un inmenso/ tintero azul que solo espera/el barco de papel, la gaviota/de la página en blanco/convirtiendo el secreto en libro abierto."
2. Jean-Paul Desroches, Gabriel Casal and Frank Goddio, eds., *Treasures of the San Diego* (Paris: AFAA; New York: Elf; Manila: National Museum of the Philippines, 1996).
3. "Relacion de los fletes del galeon San Felipe maestre Geronimo de Mendicaval vino de Philipinas y surgio en Acapulco a dos de diziembre de que se cobra treinta y dos ducados tonelada," Contaduria 897, 1592, Archivo General de las Indias, Seville, Spain.
4. From the "Expedition of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, 1541–1546," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 2, eds. Emma Blair and James Robertson, 68.
5. Bartolomé de Letona, "Description of Filipinas Islands," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 36, trans. and ed., Emma Blair and John Robertson, 205. Letona's work originally published in *Perfecta religiosa* in Puebla in 1662.
6. Antonio de Morga has a lengthy description of all the many goods the Chinese brought on their junks: "These vessels [Chinese junks] come laden with merchandise, and bring wealthy merchants who own the ships, and servants and factors of other merchants who remain in China. They leave China with the permission and license of the Chinese viceroys and mandarins. The merchandise that they generally bring and sell to the Spaniards consists of raw silk in bundles, of the fineness of two strands (dos cabeças), and other silk of poorer quality; fine untwisted silk … quantities of velvets … woven stuffs and brocades … damasks, satins, taffetas, gorvaranes, picotes, and other cloths of all colors … They also bring musk, benzoin, and ivory; many bed ornaments, hangings, coverlets, and tapestries … also some pearls and rubies, sapphires and crystal-stones; metal

basins, copper kettles, and other copper and cast-iron pots; quantities of all sorts of nails, sheet-iron, tin and lead; saltpetre and gunpowder. They supply the Spaniards with wheat flour; preserves made of orange, peach, scorzonera, pear, nutmeg, and ginger, and other fruits of China; salt pork and other salt meats … little boxes and writing-cases; beds, tables, chairs, and gilded benches, painted in many figures and patterns. They bring domestic buffaloes; geese that resemble swans; horses, some mules and asses; even caged birds, some of which talk, while others sing, and they make them play innumerable tricks. The Chinese furnish numberless other gewgaws and ornaments of little value and worth, which are esteemed among the Spaniards; besides a quantity of fine crockery of all kinds … and rarities—which, did I refer to them all, I would never finish, nor have sufficient paper for it." Antonio de Morga, *History of the Philippine Islands: From their discovery by Magellan in 1521 to the beginning of the XVII Century*, trans. and ed. E.H. Blair and J.A. Robertson (Charleston: Bibliobazaar, 2006), 302–303.

7. Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850–1898* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000), 4–5.
8. The wood used was perhaps a Philippine mahogany or sandalwood. The iron fittings of the chest and the interior compartments are telling of the object's Spanish design. See Gustavo Curiel, "Los muebles," in Elena Horz de Sotomayor et. al., *Museo Bello* (Puebla: Secretaría de Cultura, 2009), 107.
9. John Guy, *Oriental Trade Ceramics in Southeast Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries* (Singapore, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 20.
10. Zhao Rugua, *Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, translated from the Chinese and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), 159–160.
11. Laura Lee Junker, "The Development of Centralized Craft Production Systems in A.D. 500–1600 Philippine Chiefdoms," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25, 1 (1994), 9.
12. At a burial site in Santa Ana, Manila, Philippines, archaeologists uncovered seventy-nine pieces of ceramics made between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These included *yingqing* wares with brown spots, blue-and-white ware, greenwares, and one piece with red underglaze decoration. Laura Lee Junker, "The Organization of Intra-Regional and Long-Distance Trade in Prehispanic Philippine Complex Societies," *Asian Perspectives* 29, 2 (1990), 202.
13. Guy, 13.
14. Roderich Ptak, "From Quanzhou to the Sulu Zone and Beyond: Questions Related to the Early Fourteenth Century," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29, 2 (1998): 269.

15. Leonard Blusse, "Junks to Java: Chinese Shipping to the Nanyang in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," in *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities, and Networks in Southeast Asia*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 222.
16. Ptak, 274–275. In the fifteenth century when the Ming emperor banned maritime trade, merchants found ways to continue their trading activities surreptitiously, and some even chose to migrate to the places where they had strong ties. See more in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, ed. Anthony Reid (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).
17. See Geoff Wade, "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia, 900–1300 CE," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40, 2 (2009): 221–265 for more on what was traded between China and Southeast Asian polities.
18. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China, vol. 4, pt. 3: Civil Engineering and Nautics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 620.
19. C. Defremery and B.R. Sanguinetti, *The Voyages of Ibn Battuta, vol. 4*, 91, as cited in Needham, *Science and Civilization in China, vol. 4, pt. 3: Civil Engineering and Nautics,* 469.
20. Pierre-Yves Maguin, "Trading Ships of the South China Sea: Shipbuilding Techniques and their Role in the History of the Development of Asian Trade Networks, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 36, 3 (1993): 266.
21. When Magellan arrived in the region in the early sixteenth century, he had no trouble in finding interpreters, often slaves, who spoke languages ranging from Spanish and Arabic to Malay and Tagalog. See Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 47.
22. In the case of porcelain, we know that it was traded as far as the Swahili coast of Africa as early as the thirteenth century. See Sandy P. Meier, "Porcelain and Mercantile Aesthetics: Trading Culture in Coastal East Africa," *Art History*, 38, 4 (2015): 702–717.
23. Linda Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).
24. "Relation of the Voyage to Luzon," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898,* trans. and ed., Emma Blair and John Robertson, 95 and 101.
25. Barbara Watson Andaya, "Oceans Unbounded: Transversing Asia across 'Area Studies,'" *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 5, 4 (2007): 1–21.
26. Abinales and Amoroso, 27.
27. Ibid. and Andaya, 4.
28. Gaspar de San Agustin, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1975), 234–235.
29. Dennis Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571," *Journal of World History* 6, 2 (1995): 215.

30. Ibid.
31. Juan Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011), 63. See also the work of Carmen Yuste López on the merchants in Mexico, *Emporios transpacificos: comerciantes mexicanos en Manila, 1710–1815* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007).
32. See for example William Schurz, "The Spanish Lake," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 5, 2 (1922): 181–194, and O.H.K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan, Volume 1: The Spanish Lake* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979). See Mariano Ardash Bonialian, "Comercio y atlantización del Pacífico mexicano y sudamericano: la crisis del *lago indiano* y del Galeón de Manila, 1750–1821," *América Latina en la Historia Económica* 24, 1 (2017): 7–36 for an argument for why the Pacific should be thought of as the "Lake of the Indies."
33. Ryan Crewe, "Pacific Purgatory: Spanish Dominicans, Chinese Sangleys, and the Entanglement of Mission and Commerce in Manila, 1580–1620," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015): 353–354; Katherine Bjork, "The Link that Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interests and the Manila Trade, 1571–1815," *Journal of World History* 9 (1998), 39.
34. "Memorial to the King by Juan Grao y Monfalcon in the year 1635," in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, 15, 49.
35. It was not always an easy alliance, however, and the missionaries often found themselves frustrated, not knowing whether the Chinese conversions were "genuine" or just a means to have more rights and benefits in Manila.
36. In both the Spanish and the Chinese cases, the state apparatus did gain some amounts in the taxes that they were able to charge merchants for the part of their trade that they conducted with official approval.
37. Lucille Chia, "The Butcher, the Baker, and the Carpenter: Chinese Sojourners in the Spanish Philippines and their Impact on Southern Fujian (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, 4 (2006), 529.
38. Rainer Buschmann et al. divide the fortunes of the Manila Galleon Trade into three distinct periods. The first one, 1571–1662, was marked by the union between the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, which helped the trade flourish, and later when the two separated there was a contraction. The second period, 1662–1762, was relatively stable, and the final period, 1762–1815, was "frenzied," being marked by both internal and external conflicts. This final period saw the British occupation of Manila for two years (1762–1764) as well the formation of the Royal Philippine Company (1785), which conducted trade directly between Spain and Manila. Rainer Buschmann et al., eds., *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the*

Iberian world, 1521–1898 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2014), 7–8.

39. Hang-sheng Chuan, "The Inflow of American Silver into China from the Late Ming to the Mid-Ch'ing Period," *The Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, 2 (1969): 61–75.
40. It was first published in Spanish in 1609 in Mexico.
41. Antonio de Morga, *History of the Philippine Islands: From their discovery by Magellan in 1521 to the beginning of the XVII Century*, trans. and ed., Emma H. Blair and J.A. Robertson (Charleston: Bibliobazaar, 2006).
42. Domingo de Salazar, "The Chinese and the Parián at Manila," Manila, June 24, 1590, as translated in *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 7, 220.
43. The Chinese were not allowed to build with stone, which was a privilege reserved only for the Spanish part of the city that was walled. See Alberto Santamaria, "The Chinese Parian (El Parian de los Sangleyes)" in *The Chinese in the Philippines 1570–1770*, vol. 1, ed. Alfonso Felix (Manila; New York: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1966), 111.
44. Domingo de Salazar, "The Chinese and the Parián at Manila," 225.
45. Friar Letona, who boasted about the diversity of peoples seen in Manila in the seventeenth century, was also positive about Manila (which he compared to Puebla and Mexico) and the Parián. He wrote: "On the eastern side of the city, but outside of it and in front of its walls, at the distance of a musket-shot is a silk-market which they call Parian. Usually 15,000 Chinese live there; they are Sangleys, natives of Great China, and all merchants or artisans. They possess, allotted among themselves by streets and squares, shop containing all the kinds of merchandise and all the trades that are necessary in a community. The place is very orderly and well arranged, and a great convenience to the citizens. It is [an indication of] their greatness that although they are so few, they have so many workmen and servants assigned to their service." Bartolome de Letona, "Description of Filipinas Islands," Blair and Robertson trans., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 36, 204–205.
46. Morga, 312.
47. For more on the *alcaicería* in Spain see José Luis Garzón Cardenete, *Real sitio y fuerte de la Alcaicería de Granada* (Granada: Caja General de Ahorros de Granada, 2004).
48. Gil, *Los Chinos en Manila*, 156.
49. The four major ones happened in 1603, 1639, 1662, and 1668. For more on the relations between the Spanish and the Chinese centered on the Manila Parián see Manuel Ollé, "Interacción y conflicto en el Parián de Manila," *Illes í Imperis* 10, 11 (2008): 61–90.

50. John Francis Gemelli Careri, "A Voyage Around the World" in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels: Some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English … , Volume IV* (London: Awnsham and John Churchill, 1704), 420.
51. María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *Arquitectura Española en Filipinas: 1565–1800* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1959), 35.
52. Chia, 530.
53. Maria Bonta de la Pezuela, "The Perils of Porcelain: Chinese Export Porcelain for the Mexican Colonial Market," in *At the Crossroads: The Arts of Spanish America and Early Global Trade*, eds. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2012), 43.
54. Ceramics would be packed in a similar way when shipped across the Atlanticfrom Spain to the Americas, and it is possible that such techniques were adopted for transpacific shipping. See Alfonso Pleguezelo, "Ceramics, Business and Economy," in *Ceramica y Cultura: The Story of Spanish and Mexican Mayólica*, eds. Robin Farewell Gavin, Donna Pierce and Alfonso Pleguezuelo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 116.
55. For more on the issue of corrupt shipping techniques see William J. McCarthy, "Between Policy and Prerogative: Malfeasance in the Inspection of the Manila Galleons at Acapulco, 1637," *Colonial Latin American Review* 2, 2 (1993): 163–183.
56. From "Period VIII" of the *Extracto Historial* by Antonio José Alvarez de Abreu (Madrid, 1736) as excerpted in Blair and Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898,* vol. 44, 311. This particular "period" "Relates the plan presented by the deputies for the Philipinas for regulating the commerce of that country in the year 1724; and its results up to that of 1730."
57. Rocío Díaz has found individual porcelain items listed in ship manifests from the late eighteenth century. These were commissioned pieces with families' coats of arms depicted on them. See her *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for Spain* (London: Jorge Welsh Books, 2010).
58. For more on the importance of Mexico as a point through which this correspondence was mediated to Spain see Luke Clossey, "Merchants, migrants, missionaries, and globalization in the early-modern Pacific," *Journal of Global History* 1.1 (2006): 41–58.
59. "Memoria de las mercadurias de china que yo el … [?] pido sumiga embarco en este Puerto ano e mil y seiscientos y dos," Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4976, Expediente 6, 1602, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico.
60. Indifirente Virreinal Caja 3504, Expediente 36, 1731, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico. Translation mine.
61. Ibid. Translation mine.

62. For more on the various types of ceramics exported to colonial Mexico, see George Kuwayama, *Chinese Porcelain in Colonial Mexico* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997) and Maria Bonta de la Pezuela, *Porcelana China de Exportación: Para el mercado novohispano: la colección del Museo Nacional del Virreinato* (Mexico: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 2008). On armorial porcelain see Díaz; Cinta Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispanica, 2016).
63. A wreck discovered off the coast of Oregon revealed that at times even beeswax was stamped in order to show ownership. Not all the beeswax on the ship was marked, but archaeologists have been able to identify similar marks from other shipwrecks, namely the *San Diego* (1600) and the *Nuestra Señora de a la Concepcion* (1638). William Mathers and Nancy Shaw, *Treasures of the Concepción* (Hong Kong: APA Publications, 1993), 100–101.
64. Richard Rogers, "The Owners' Marks Found on Certain Blocks of Beeswax at the Nehalem Spit, Oregon." Report on the Beeswax Wreck Project site, http://www.nagagroup.org/BeesWax/about/about.htm. Accessed on May 9, 2017.
65. For more on such marks seen from shipwrecks in the Atlantic see Mitchell Marken, *Pottery from Spanish Shipwrecks, 1500–1800* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994). Interestingly Dutch and Portuguese shipwrecks did not reveal jars with such marks, which suggests that this was a Spanish practice introduced in the regions where they practiced trade. See William Mathers, Henry Parker, and Kathleen Copus, eds., *Archaeological Report: The Recovery of the Manila Galleon Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (Sutton, VT: Pacific Sea Resources, 1990), 445.
66. Pablo Pérez-Mallaína Bueno, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Carla Rahn Phillips (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1998), 105–128; McCarthy, 163.
67. See for example Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera's case detailed in McCarthy, "Before Policy and Prerogative." See also Nicholas Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 132.
68. Carla Rahn Philipps, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 22–25. For more on the building of the galleons in and around Manila and Cavite consult William Mathers, Henry Parker, and Kathleen Copus, eds. *Archaeological Report: The Recovery of the Manila Galleon Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (Sutton, VT: Pacific Sea Resources, 1990) and Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific* (Central Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2011).

69. "There is in these islands an abundance of wood and of men, so that a large fleet of boats and galleys may be built. There is a quantity of cheap iron from China, worked by the natives here, who can make what is necessary from it—which they can not do with Castilian iron, for it is exceedingly hard. We have no pitch, tallow, or rigging worth mention, because what there is is so scarce and poor that it amounts to nothing. There is no oakum for calking. Large anchors cannot be made; but the rest of the tackle can be obtained here in good condition. There is good timber also; to my way of thinking, therefore, the ship that would have cost ten thousand ducats in Guatimala [sic], and in Nueva España thirty [thousand], can be made here for two or three [thousand], should strenuous efforts be employed." Francisco de Sande, "Relations of the Filipinas." First report sent by Sande to the home government dated June 7, 1576, in Blair and Roberts, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 4, 74. For more on shipbuilding in Manila see Jesús García de Valle y Gómez, *Retrato de Un Navio* and Fish, 156–186.
70. Mathers, Parker, and Copus, 29–30.
71. Pérez-Mallaína Bueno, 66–68.
72. Ibid., 139.
73. Gemelli Careri recounted an episode that occurred on a voyage from Manila to Acapulco where the galleon docked in Batan and was searched for contraband: "Search was then made to discover whether there were any jars that instead of water, were filled with commodities, upon pretence of carrying them safer; and several were cast into the sea full of pepper, purcelane [sic] and other goods of value." Careri, 479.
74. Bjork, 43–44. Careri also noted the manipulation of this system on his visit to Manila: "The Governor and the *oydores*, or judges, according to the King's order, are to distribute the stowage proportionally among the citizens; but there is little justice done in this point, favour carrying all, so that the rich have cockets given them, for 30 or 40, and even 50 bales, and the poorest sort only for two or three, pretending the ship can carry no more, and this contrary to the King's intention." Careri, 477.
75. Careri, 477.
76. For more on the hierarchy and division of labor on a ship see Pérez-Mallaína Bueno, *Spain's Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth* Century, 75–104.
77. Careri, 477.
78. Ibid., 477–478.
79. Ibid., 478.
80. Pérez-Mallaína Bueno, 80.